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ABSTRACT

When analyzing the degree to which a balanced presentation of NATO is achieved in West German history and civics textbooks, two standards may be used: first, inclusion of information on NATO's formation, aims, strategies and achievements; and, second, inclusion of the criticisms that have been leveled at NATO from various points of view. This paper undertakes an analysis of West German history and civics textbooks based on these standards, the first of which is said to deal with "factual" themes and the second, with "controversial" themes. A number of categories among these themes are outlined. Four different approaches are found in textbooks covering NATO: legitimizing, legitimizing/controversial, controversial, and controversial/critical. "Legitimizing" refers to the type of presentation that limits itself to factual information concerning NATO and in which very little criticism of NATO is mentioned. "Legitimizing/controversial" refers to a combined approach, which, although it presents a few criticisms, still manages to include less than half of the controversial themes. "Controversial" represents the method of presentation that deals with at least half the controversial themes. "Controversial/critical" refers to a combined approach that treats controversial themes, revealing at the same time support for a change or improvement in NATO strategy. Controversial themes are found to be treated more extensively in civics textbooks than history texts. (DB)

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NATO in History and Civics Textbooks:

the West German Case

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K. Peter Fritzsche

NATO in History and Civics Textbooks: the West German Case*

1. Framework of categories

Textbook analysis can comprise several levels of analysis. When discussing methods of textbook analysis, the following levels are of primary importance:[1]

- adequacy of scholarly standard: is the book up to date in respect to current scientific discussions?
- didactic standard: how is selection and reduction arrived at from the complexity of material available and with what aim in mind?
- successful design: what visual aids are employed to support textual sections?
- balance and impartiality: how are biased views avoided and controversial standpoints taken into consideration?

Since it is impossible to cover all aspects of this subject within the time allocated to me, I would like to concentrate on the questions dealing with balance and bias.

When analysing the degree to which a balanced presentation of Nato is achieved, two points have to be considered:

- Nato is a defence alliance agreed upon by our Westerndemocratic system, and Nato is responsible for protecting West German territory. It is therefore the task of history books and civics textbooks to report on Nato's formation, aims, strategies and achievements.
- It is precisely in the Federal Republic of Germany, however, that Nato considers itself confronted by criticism on different levels and from various angles. Concern for German security interests are often mingled with fear in general for world peace, with the fear that the security model of Nato infact risks to destroy what it is intended to defend. Along with the criticism, that the risk of threat involved for both East and West in pursuing a strategy of deterrence is underestimated, the fear often arises of overrating the feeling of threat shared by both East and West[2], which in turn can only be maintained by forming adverse images of the opponent. Criticism, even of this kind, has to be incorporated into textbooks as topics of controversy, inorder to prevent "imbalance".

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* Paper presented at the International Conference on NATO in History and Civics Textbooks (The Hague, November 24 and 25, 1989)

1 M. Laubig/H. Peters/P. Weinbrenner: Methodenprobleme der Schulbuchanalyse, Bielefeld 1986.

2 C. C. Schweitzer (Hrsg.): Bedrohung durch die Sowjetunion? Westliche Analysen der politischen Absichten Moskaus im Zeitvergleich der 50er und 80er Jahre, Baden Baden 1989.

Internationale Schulbuchforschung 12 (1990) S. 35–47
Frankfurt: Diesterweg. ISSN 0172–8237

As a means of analysis, I have devised a framework of categories, which take these very themes into account, and which, if included, can offer the possibility as to the balanced approach of a textbook.

First of all, I would like to differentiate between two groups of categories, one referring to sections dealing with factual themes and one for controversial themes. The categories belonging to the "factual section" provide information as to the origins, strategies and achievements of Nato; the categories of the "controversial section" provide information on arguments, doubts, criticism, protest and alternatives.

I have chosen the following as categories for the "factual section":

1. cold war, communist threat and the formation of blocs (NATO/WTO)
2. "integration of the Federal Republic of Germany into Nato
3. "dual-track" policy (Harmel)
4. strategies of deterrence
5. results of negotiations
6. comparison of military forces and the communist threat
7. double-track decision (Nato-Doppelbeschluß)

Categories for controversial themes are:

1. the question of responsibility for the cold war
2. security interests of the USSR
3. problems involving a quantitive comparison of military forces
4. adverse images
5. conflicts within the alliance
6. risks involved in strategies of deterrence
7. alternatives to Nato's strategy
8. peace-movement
9. conception of peace
10. chances of detente

The following served as criteria for judging the manner in which Nato is presented:

- Inclusion or exclusion of a theme
- controversially explicit presentation of issues or suggestive assessments
- "underlying assumptions" in study instructions or in tabulated material.

Four different approaches in presenting Nato can be ascertained: legitimizing – legitimizing/controversial – controversial – controversial/critical.

With "legitimizing" I am referring to the type of presentation which limits itself to factual information concerning Nato and in which any criticism of, or conflicts within and surrounding Nato, are hardly dealt with at all, and if so then only with the result that the presentation then becomes distorted.

"Legitimizing/controversial" refers to a combined approach, which, although it presents a few, still only manages to include less than half of the controversial themes.

"Controversial" represents the method of presentation which deals with at least half of the controversial themes.

"Controversial/critical" refers to a combined approach which treats controversial themes, revealing at the same time support for a change or improvement in Nato strategy.

2. Analysis

The following serves as an initial summary of the books I have analysed. There were altogether twelve books, six civics textbooks and six history books; from which six were taken from the "Sekundarstufe 1", six from "Sekundarstufe 2".

Four books belong to the group in which the legitimizing approach is undertaken: three history books and one civics book.

There is one history book in the group using the legitimizing/controversial approach.

The controversial group has five books: Two history books and three on civics.

In the controversial/critical approach group there are two books on politics.

Controversial themes are treated more extensively in civics books than in history books.

Legitimizing approach

The book entitled "Geschichtliche Weltkunde" (History and integrated world studies) owes its conspicuousness to the fact that, in comparison to all the other textbooks studied, it does not include even one of the ten controversial themes. At the point where other works broach the peace-movement as a topic of discussion, extensive measures are taken to avoid explicit reference to the issue of protest.

"The spiralling nature of the new arms race lead to deep concern in Western Europe . . . On the other hand, it was obvious that the policy of credible 'deterrence' had contributed to preventing war in and around Europe and to preserving freedom in the Western section. Lively discussions concerning internal affairs and foreign policies ensued to ensure that the right path to peace and freedom was undertaken." (288)

The book entitled "Unsere Geschichte" (Our history), which all in all presents only two controversial themes, includes the same passage, but concludes by postulating: "The preservation of peace within a free world has and will in the future remain the aim of foreign policy." (342)

At a different stage, there is in fact direct reference to the peace-movement, which is presented in a controversial manner by juxtaposing speeches by Erhard Eppler and President von Weizsäcker. The second controversial theme, to at least be touched upon, is the question concerning conflicting responsibilities during the cold war.

This theme is also taken up in a Bavarian textbook publishing company's work entitled "Geschichte" (History). Under the heading: "Who started the cold war?", a passage written by the historian Kleßmann appears – in which,

having outlined the views held by traditionalists and revisionists, he concludes with the following: "A group, and in particular a group most recently responsible for determining discussion, seeks to incorporate the findings of the revisionists but at the same time avoid immense bias and weaknesses. In concrete terms, this means to acquire above all better comprehension of the process of change inherent in Soviet-American politics." (131)

Moreover, the book makes brief reference to the risk involved in a policy of deterrence: "Despite the 'nuclear deadlock', the world faces the threat of a nuclear war, which could be initiated merely as a result of human or technical failure." (137)

Findings also showed, that the books "Unsere Geschichte" and "Geschichte" do not provide any information concerning the "second-pillar" of Nato's policy, namely detente.

The fourth book in this group is "Politik im 20. Jahrhundert" (Politics in the 20th century): It deals with three controversial themes, conflicts within the alliance, risks arising from a policy of deterrence and the peace-movement; the latter two themes are, however, totally biased. It is the first of the books studied to incorporate the theme dealing with conflicts within the alliance:

"The history of Nato, spanning over a period of more than thirty years, is marked by a series of crises. These were all in fact the direct outcome of the discrepancies inherent in European and American interests and because forms of perceiving those interests were undertaken by a superpower and the decision for the deployment of nuclear weapons lies with the USA. The unity within Nato developed according to Soviet pressure." (411)

The book also discusses the themes, "risks involved in a strategy of deterrence" and "the peace-movement". It does not employ a controversial approach but presents the pupil, without prior preparation, distorted judgements. Commenting on the peace-movement, it states: "The fact that the peace-movement did not at first denounce armament in general, but only in as far as Nato was concerned, without including the Warsaw pact, it was consequently imparted with the character of being a Soviet initiated and guided instrument." (416)

Legitimizing/controversial approach

The work entitled, "Geschichte, Politik und Gesellschaft" (History, Politics and Society), pursues four controversial themes: The question of responsibility for the cold war, conflicts within the alliance, the peace-movement and chances of detente. When treating the subject of conflicts within the alliance, the pupil is shown, above all, the form of undemocratic conditions existing in two Nato countries: "The undemocratic conditions prevailing at times in Portugal and Greece contradict the contract of alliance." (361)

The pupil is also provided with some information as to the division within the alliance.

"Nato's double-track policy in 1979 and the unanimous condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan indeed witnessed unity within the bloc as of

former times; there was, however, no intention of surrendering Europe's East European options. While this saw the beginning of an 'Ice-Age' in Soviet-American relations – West Europeans clung to a policy of detente which lead to attacks from the USA, voicing the suspicion that this would lead to a form of self-neutralisation." (363f)

Since the book was issued in 1988, it is possible to include a report on the results following negotiations during the Washington summit in 1987, and to also outline the first evidence of the Soviet reformer, Gorbachev's, influence on detente. Although in other sections of the book no doubt is left as to the Soviet threat up until now, the tenor changes in the passages about Gorbachev: "With Gorbachev's foreign policy offensive a new phase in East-West relations has begun, which reached its first climax with the treaty in Washington agreeing on the destruction of nuclear medium-range missiles, and it holds the promise of further possibilities." (364)

Controversial approach

The history book "Zeiten und Menschen" (Epochs and People) aims at five controversial themes: question of responsibility for the cold war, the USSR's security interests, risks involving the deployment of a policy of deterrence, the peace-movement and the chances of detente. Apart from accentuating the "change in Soviet foreign policy" under Gorbachev's leadership, "from a policy of non-negotiation to a more versatile foreign policy, aiming at managing conflicts and finding a compromise", there is evidence of scepticism: "Even if there is a tendency to open up ideological boundaries and there is at present reinforced cooperation stretching across the different biocs, the unbridgeable gap in fundamental ideological convictions and socio-political set of values still presents as always a framework probably too narrow to manage a further dismantling of East-West contrasts." (158)

"Thema Politik" (Talking about Politics) deals with five controversial themes, however, with different areas of emphasis: question of responsibility for the cold war, problems of balance in force, risks involved in deploying a policy of deterrence, alternatives and the peace-movement. "Thema Politik" is the first of the books studied up to now, to discuss the problem of a qualitative comparison of military force. Whereas all the books, as yet, had chosen selective and suggestive information to depict the Soviet threat, this book chooses not to draw a numerical comparison and instead takes recourse to necessary qualitative criteria, such as, geographical, industrial, economical and social and political factors in the alliances. "Thema Politik" is the first of the books studied to provide an overall view of alternatives to armament. It outlines unilateralism, gradualism, nuclear-weapon-free zone and conventional defence, "Soziale Verteidigung" (defence of non-co-operation), "Defensivverteidigung".

"Geschichtsbuch" (History Book) looks at six controversial themes: question of responsibility for the cold war, USSR security interests, problems of adverse images, risks involved in deploying a policy of deterrence, alternatives and the peace-movement. A new topic is introduced, namely adverse images, which

is dealt with in this book by taking as an example, "The cold war as presented in textbooks" in the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic.

"Lehr- und Arbeitsbuch Politik" (Classwork and Workbook on Politics) tackles seven controversial themes in detail: USSR security interests, adverse images, conflicts within the alliance, risks of deterrence, alternatives, the peace-movement and the conception of peace.

When reporting on the essential points of criticism in respect to a policy of deterrence, the subject of adverse images is discussed:

"If a deterrent policy is to be effective and credible, in other words, for it to attain the consensus and the support of the majority of the population, there has to be effective stereotyping of the enemy. The hostile system is portrayed as totally evil, it serves as a plausible explanation and justification for the problems prevailing at home and as a subterfuge for suppressing criticism and opposition.

Under such circumstances, any information on the enemy is perceived in a distorted light and it is selected so that it confirms prejudice and hostile images of the enemy and proves the necessity for deterrence. In this way, fear of the enemy becomes self-perpetuating, proper understanding of political reality is hindered, the capacity for learning is limited. Seen in this context, there is, according to communication-science, stultification in the international system."

The peace-movement, however, is presented with a multitude of "underlying assumptions".

- The peace-movement is placed in inverted commas.
- An article written by the political scientist, Kielmansegg, is presented without comment, under the confusing and falsely generalizing heading: "Christians faced by the arms' race, disarmament and the brutal facts of power", which states among other things; "Escaping into emotionalism is no answer to cold hard facts. Passion emerging from a moral sense of dedication is no substitute for the effort involved in thinking. Where fear is activated – and at present this fear is being activated ubiquitously, with forcefulness and the inevitable degree of demagogy – this fear, once activated, destroys one's power of judgement."
- After outlining several psychological aspects of deterrence, one of the tasks instructs the pupil to: "discuss the possibilities open to the Soviet Union for influencing the attitude of people in Western states with regard to the problems stated, using propaganda and threats!".

"Politik im Aufriß" (Sketching Politics), which follows an unusual course of approach, deals with seven controversial themes. The usual approach via the "cold war and forming blocs" is not undertaken, instead a detailed presentation of the Afghanistan conflict is offered, from the start, as an example for the East-West conflict. Thus, the theme "the question of responsibility for the cold war", is omitted, instead the book offers an introduction to "theories on Soviet foreign policies":

"In addition to analysing the occasion for and cause of Soviet intervention, other more general aspects of Soviet foreign policy, starting with Afghanistan, are entered upon. Three theories are subsequently offered: the theory of the

USSR following a course of world-revolutionary expansionism, of a superpower willing to expand its territories but only when the opportunity arises and where minimum risk is involved and of a Soviet Union drawn against its will into a conflict, but basically a peace-loving nation." (313)

With regard to the problem that the West does not by any means always depict the USSR in an objective way, but is guided by patterns of perception – similar to the conceptions of the three reported theories on Soviet foreign policy – the book repeatedly attempts to draw our attention to this fact, by combining Western texts on the USSR with the question: "What preconceived ideas of ourselves and the enemy is the text based on?". (363)

Taking Afghanistan as an example, reference is also made to the strained relations and conflicts within the alliance:

"The FRG found itself in a particularly difficult position within the alliance. Its interests, with regard to Eastern policies and above all its 'Deutschland' policy, required contir uing East-West cooperation, and the dismantling of potential threat. Its dependency on the USA, particularly in respect to its defence policies, its role in Nato and the traditional close relations to the USA claimed its loyalty to American po'icies." (317)

When treating the "flexible-response-strategy", it discusses the possible discrepancies in German-American security interests: "Thus, the question arises as to the credibility surrounding the American guarantee of nuclear protection – in other words, whether the USA would really deploy nuclear weapons early on in order to prevent or put an end to a conventional war in Europe and thereby risk Soviet nuclear retaliation on American territory". (365)

Even bevore the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and before the successful negotiations in Washington, the book estimates the chances of detente as follows: "The return of the USSR to the INF negotiations table in Genf, the interest shown by the USSR for improving relations with the USA and a series of signs for policies controlling arms infer that, within the Soviet leadership and above all in Eastern Europe, there are still those who are interested in arms control and disarmament". (380)

Controversial/critical approach

The first book I have allocated to this group is the civics textbook, "Sehen, Beurteilen, Handeln" (Look, Judge, Act). This book also adopts an unconventional approach in the way it is structured: it does not concentrate on the East-West conflict, but the Near-East conflict. Consequently, it includes only five of the factual categories from our list and five controversial themes: adverse images, risks involved in policies of deterrence, alternatives, the peace-movement, conception of peace. Since this work, however, does not only discuss the conception of peace referring to Galtung but also adopts it, it is justified to place it within this category of controversial/critical: "The superpowers have attempted, ever since 1945, to avoid war between their countries . . . Therefore thought should always be given to the terminology involved: peace or non-war.

Non-war also involves structural violence. However, one must observe the sequence: Non-war is better than war, peace is better than non-war." (247)

From the books studied, the textbook "Politik. Ein Arbeitsbuch für den Politik-Unterricht" (Politics. A workbook for civics lessons) has a special status. Of the ten selected controversial themes, all ten are treated. This extensive treatment is complemented by extensive explanations.

- Greater detail is given to presenting the peace-movement than in other works.
- Information is provided not only on the diverse ideological composition of the movement but also on opinion polls as to the support it probably enjoys amongst the population.
- It is with greater clarity than in all the other books, in the section on the risks involved in deploying policies of deterrence, that the "dilemma" of Nato strategy becomes evident, that "military defence would in practice involve the destruction of the FRG". (417)
- It is with greater detail, than in other books, that the theme of adverse images based on the analyses of Daniel Frei is developed.
- Greater care, than in the other books, is taken here in presenting the problem of comparing military force on the basis of quantitative data. After presenting three tables on nuclear and conventional weapons belonging to Nato and the Warsaw pact, the pupil is warned: "The tables are mainly there to convey a general impression of the extent and diversity of the systems of weapons, which both pact systems have accumulated. Judging this in terms of a comparison of military force poses on of the most difficult problems in the discussion on the East-West conflict". (462)

This is the only book to present survey data on the assessment of the communist threat. The surveys cover the period 1962–1987 and manifest a considerable decrease in fears for security amongst the German population.

Even if the mere fact that this is the only book to deal with all ten controversial themes selected would suffice in proving its critical approach, I would still like to illustrate by way of two textual examples the reason for placing this work under the category of controversial – critical. In one of the passages written by the authors themselves we find:

"If peace does not only entail the absence of war, then the political efforts for securing peace should not only refer to the external dangers threatening peace through foreign military or political pressure." (412)

The author's introduction to the chapter, "Krieg und Frieden" (War and Peace), opens:

"The longer the contrasts between world powers remain irreconcilable, the longer defence policies on all sides are based primarily on military deployment, the greater the fear among a number of people of a new large-scale war and nuclear catastrophe; and the stronger the criticism as to the defence policies followed up until now by both East and West." (389)

3. Change from the 1970's to the 1980's

When comparing textbooks of the 1970's and 1980's, it becomes evident that they have undergone a considerable change. There has been an increase in the number of controversial themes, in particular. I would like to at least outline this change very quickly by comparing three books taken from the 1970's with three books from the 1980's, whereby the books taken from the 1980's are revised versions of those from the 1970's, thus guaranteeing clear conceptional continuity.

- The history textbook, "Zeiten und Menschen" (Epochs und People), only dealt with two factual themes in its publication in the 1970's: the cold war and the integration of the FRG into NATO – there is still no evidence later of any single controversial theme.
- The book entitled "Thema Politik" (Talking about Politics) took up five new themes in its publication in the 1980's, two factual themes: the cold war and the "dual track" theory and three controversial themes: qualitative criteria for comparing military forces, the peace-movement, alternative strategies of disarmament.
- The civics textbook, "Politik. Lehr- und Arbeitsbuch" (Politics. Textbook and Workbook), has a new controversial theme in its 1987 publication: the peace-movement and seven new changes in the controversial section: a discursive passage on the question: "Would an increase in disarmament lead to an increase in security?"; a scientific study on the cold war, a table presenting an overall view of negotiations on arms control and disarmament – two passages on the difference between the USA's and the FRG's interests, a general table showing alternative forms of disarmament, criticism from the ethical point of view in respect to deterrence and a controversial look at "Soziale Verteidigung" (defence of non-cooperation).

This change in textbooks, although somewhat protracted, reflects a change in society and political climate of the FRG, where in the last decade the political scope of defence policies has become increasingly liable to evoking conflict.

4. Public Opinion and security policies

By the end of the 1970's, the "paradise of popular national security consensus in our society has gone" and a growing dissent concerning the Nato double-track decision and in general as to the strategy of deterrence developed in the FRG. The peace-movement was the most obvious and most politicized faction of society.[3]

[3] Hans Rattinger: Change versus Continuity in West German Public Attitudes on National Security and Nuclear Weapons in the Early 1980's, in: Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol 51, 1987.

The number of those, who believed in the likelihood of a world war within the next decade, almost tripled between the period 1978–81 – comprising a third of the population.[4]

The number of advocates for the FRG leaving Nato rose by a third in the period 1979–1982 – comprising almost a third of the population.[5]

Surveys carried out by another institute showed that, even as early as mid-1983, only 10 % of the population believed that Nato was no longer necessary for preserving the peace in Europe.

The people representing this view are very likely under 24, with good secondary or university education and politically inclined to favour the "Green" party.[6]

The stationing of new INF missiles on German soil met with opposition from the majority of the population during this period (1981–83).[7]

A third of the population felt, moreover, that the INF missiles planned for Europe would endanger security far more than Soviet missiles in Eastern Europe.[8]

1989 marks a new change in the political consciousness of the German people in respect to security policies. After a rise in fear, resulting from the arms race and deterrence, a means for dispersing a different kind of fear, namely of Soviet aggression, is being provided by the East: at the beginning of 1989, only 10 % still saw the Warsaw pact as a potential military threat.[9]

Seen in this context, it should be noted that, even in the past and even among those who believed the Eastern bloc was stronger in military terms, only half felt threatened by this strength.

In 1989, already 19 % of the population feel Nato is no longer necessary for preserving peace in Europe and almost half of the German population advocates one-sided offers from the West in disarmament negotiations with the East.[10]

Should the current change in the Eastern bloc continue, then it will not only be in textbooks that a new chapter will have to be written on Nato.

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4 W. Bredow/R. Brocke: Ost-West-Konflikt, Krisenbewußtsein und Protestbewegung in Westeuropa, in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, B 5/1987.
5 Rattinger a. a. O.
6 Forschungsgruppe Wahlen: Politbarometer 5/83.
7 Rattinger a. a. O.
8 Bredow/Brocke a. a. O.
9 Forschungsgruppe Wahlen: Politbarometer 1/89.
10 Forschungsgruppe Wahlen: Politbarometer 5/89.

	cold war	NATO, FRG	Harmel	deterrence	results of negotiations	NATO double track decision	military forces comparison	cold war responsibility	security interests Ussr	problems of comparison	adverse images	conflicts in NATO	risks of deterrence	alternative strategies	peace-movement	conception of peace	chances of detente
Geschichtl. Weltkunde	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Unsere Geschichte	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
Geschichte BSV	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
Politik im 20. Jh.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
Geschichte, Politik, Gesellschaft	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
Zeiten und Menschen	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
Thema Politik	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
Geschichtsbuch	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
Politik (Sutor)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
Politik Aufriß	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
Sehen, Urteilen, Handeln	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
Politik (Floren)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Textbooks

Geschichte. Das 20. Jahrhundert (J. Cornelissen u. a.) München: Bayerischer Schulbuchverlag 1988 – Sek I

Geschichte, Politik und Gesellschaft 2. Die Großmächte – Internationale Beziehungen – Deutschland nach 1945 (W. Mickel/B. Wiegand) Lern- und Arbeitsbuch für Geschichte in der gymnasialen Oberstufe, Frankfurt: Cornelsen Verlag 1988

Geschichtliche Weltkunde 4. Von der Zeit des Imperialismus bis zur Gegenwart (H. Busley u. a.) Frankfurt: Verlag Moritz Diesterweg 1983 – Sek I

Geschichtsbuch. Allgemeine Ausgabe: Von 1917 bis heute (P. Hüttenberger/B. Mütter, Hrsg.) Cornelsen Verlag 1988 – Sek I

Politik. Ein Arbeitsbuch für den Politik-Unterricht (F. J. Floren) Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn 1988 – Sek II

Politik. Ein Lehr- und Arbeitsbuch (B. Sutor, Hrsg.), Ferdinand Schöningh: 1979 – Sek II

Politik. Ein Lehr- und Arbeitsbuch (B. Sutor, Hrsg.), Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn 1987 – Sek II

Politik im Aufriß (L. Helbig u. a.) Frankfurt: Verlag Moritz Diesterweg 1987 – Sek II

Politik im 20. Jahrhundert (H. Hartwich u. a.) 5. Auflage, Westermann Verlag Braunschweig 1975 – Sek II

Politik im 20. Jahrhundert (H. Hartwich u. a.) Westermann, Braunschweig 1984 – Sek II

Thema Politik (H. Becker u. a.) Lese- und Arbeitsbuch für die Sekundarstufe I, Stuttgart 1976

Thema Politik (H. Becker u. a.) Politische Bildung in der Sekundarstufe I, Ernst Klett Verlag, Stuttgart 1987

Unsere Geschichte. Von der Zeit des Imperialismus bis zur Gegenwart (W. Hug u. a.) Verlag Moritz Diesterweg, Frankfurt 1986 – Sek I

Zeiten und Menschen. Die geschichtlichen Grundlagen der Gegenwart. (R. Tenbrock u. a.) Schöningh-Schroedel, Paderborn 1976 – Sek II

Zeiten und Menschen. Der Aufstieg der Supermächte und die Welt nach 1945 (W. Borth u. a.) Schöningh-Schroedel, Paderborn 1988 – Sek II

Zusammenfassung

Ist die Darstellung der NATO in Schulbüchern für Geschichte und Politik/Sozialkunde der Bundesrepublik einseitig oder verzerrt? Dies ist die Kernfrage dieser Schulbuchanalyse. Die Vermeidung von Unausgewogenheit erfordert zweierlei: Zum einen erfordert die Bedeutung der NATO für die Bundesrepublik, daß Basiswissen über ihren Ursprung, ihre Ziele und Strategien vermittelt wird. Zum anderen erfordert der kontroverse Charakter der NATO, daß auch über die vielfältige Kritik und die vorgeschlagenen Alternativen informiert wird. Mit Hilfe eines Kategorienrasters, das sowohl die Vermittlung von Basis-

wissen wie die Informierung über die Kontroversen erfassen soll, können vier unterschiedliche Typen der NATO-Darstellung identifiziert werden. Wir nennen sie: a) legitimatorisch, b) legitimatorisch-kontrovers, c) kontrovers, d) kritisch-kontrovers. Zwei wichtige Ergebnisse sind, daß in den untersuchten Politik-/Sozialkundebüchern mehr kontroverse Themen behandelt werden, als in den Geschichtsbüchern, und daß in die Schulbücher der 80er Jahre mehr kontroverse Themen Eingang finden, als in die Schulbücher der 70er Jahre. Der letzte Befund zeigt, auch wie Schulbücher wichtige Veränderungen in der politischen Kultur eines Landes oder in der Weltpolitik reflektieren. Weit größere Veränderungen sind deshalb für die Schulbücher der 90er Jahre in der Darstellung der NATO zu erwarten.

Résumé

Les manuels d'histoire et d'instruction civique ouest-allemands présentent-ils une image désequilibrée ou distordue de l'OTAN? C'est la question qui est au centre de la présente analyse. Pour éviter une présentation déséquilibrée il convient de tenir compte des deux aspects suivants: Etant donné l'importance de l'OTAN pour la République fédérale d'Allemagne, il faut communiquer aux élèves des connaissances fondamentales sur l'origine de l'Organisation ainsi que sur ses buts et ses stratégies. D'autre part, vu son caractère controversé, il faut informer les élèves sur l'ensemble des controverses et des alternatives proposées. Une trame mesurant la présentation de ces deux aspects dans les manuels scolaires permet d'identifier les quatre catégories suivantes: a) vision favorable; b) vision favorable/controversée; c) vision controversée; d) vision critique/controversée. L'analyse fait voir que les manuels d'instruction civique évoquent un plus grand nombre de thèmes controversés que les manuels d'histoire et que les manuels des années quatre-vingts consacrent plus de place aux thèmes controversés que ceux des années soixante-dix. Ce dernier résultat d'analyse montre aussi la manière dont les manuels reflètent des changements essentiels intervenus dans la culture politique d'un pays ou dans la politique mondiale. On peut donc s'attendre à une présentation beaucoup plus modifiée de l'OTAN dans les manuels des années quatre-vingt-dix.